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QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR

Letter dated 8 September 1997 from the Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith a note verbale from the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations, dated 16 June 1997 (see annex), in response to the communication of 19 May 1997 from the Permanent Mission of Portugal to the United Nations concerning East Timor (A/52/152).

I should be grateful if you would have the text of the present letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the fifty-second session of the General Assembly.

(Signed) Makarim WIBISONO
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

* A/52/150 and Corr.1.

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ANNEX

Note verbale dated 16 June 1997 from the Permanent Mission of Indonesia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and with reference to the note verbale dated 19 May 1997 from the Permanent Mission of Portugal addressed to the Secretary-General (A/52/152), has the honor to state the following :

1. The historical facts of Portugal's abandonment of East Timor is indisputable after it hastily fled the territory in a most irresponsible manner in August 1975. In this regard, it should be recalled that even before the Portuguese authorities physically left the territory, the colonial power had completely lost control of the situation which swiftly turned from bad to worse, and bloody civil war followed. In fact the Portuguese Government had admitted to the international community that the chaotic situation was beyond its control, as evident from the letter of the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Portugal addressed to the Secretary-General of 28 November 1975, stating that *"under the circumstances, the Portuguese authorities do not have the means to assure normalization of the situation of Timor"*. Such words and action can only be viewed as abdication by the former colonial authorities of its solemn responsibilities that it had assumed as the Administering Power under the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Furthermore, after removing itself from the territory, it had ceased to have first-hand knowledge of the situation in East Timor. It is therefore incredible that even after recognizing the fact that it was not in a position to submit a report under Article 73 (e) of the Charter, Portugal uses the forum of decolonization to pursue an unrelenting campaign of disinformation and hatred against Indonesia.

2. Portugal's past record as the worst and most ruthless colonial power is well known to the global community. In this regard, it merits reiteration that the author Sydney Bailey in his book entitled *"The UN Security Council and Human Rights"* illustrates the latter point well, particularly with regard to the suppression of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Portugal's former colonies. The actions of the former colonialist precipitated the adoption of a comprehensive resolution which included a declaration that *"Portuguese colonialism on the African continent (was) a serious threat to the peace and security of independent African States "*.(SCOR, Supplement for Oct to Dec. 1970, pg 51, S/9987;

1558th mtg.(22/23 Nov. 1970), para.7, S/9988; 25th year, Special Supplement no. 2, S10009; SC res.289 (S9990/Rev. 2), 23 Nov. 1970; SC res. 290 (S10030), 8 Dec. 1970. Numerous other Security Council resolutions affirmed the goals of self-determination and independence and urged Portugal to desist from repressive measures and called for free political activity (SC res.163(S/4835), 9 June 1961; SC res. 180 (S/5380), 31 July 1963; SC res. 183 (S/5481), 11 Dec. 1963; SC res. 218 (S/6953/Rev. 1 as amended), 23 Nov. 1965; SC.res. 290 (S/100030), 8 Dec. 1970; 1603rd mtg. (30 Nov.1971), para 5; SC res. 312 (S10607/Rev. 1), 4 Feb. 1972; SC res. 322 (S/10030), 8 Dec. 1970). In this connection, it must be emphasized that each resolution was worded more strongly than previous ones, with the operative word describing Portugal's actions from *"deprecates"* in 1963, to *"deplores"* in 1965, to *"condemns"* in 1972 (SC. res 180(S/5380), 31 July 1963; SC res. 218 (S/6953/Rev. 1, as amended), 23 Nov. 1965; SC res. 312 (S/10607 Rev. 1) 4 Feb. 1972).

3. Many eminent personalities, including the following authors, have been critical of Portugal's irresponsible actions regarding its former colonial territory of East Timor and its negative campaign against Indonesia.

(a) Mr. Robert Barry, the former US Ambassador to Indonesia from 1992 to 1995, in an article entitled *"An Errant Noble Peace Prize"* in the Washington Post on 29 October 1996 wrote :

> *"The dilemma of East Timor was created in 1974, when a leftist government in Portugal suddenly withdrew from its colonies around the world, including the eastern half of the island of Timor...".*

(b) Mr. Richard Wolcott, former Secretary for the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and currently the Trade and Visiting Fellow in the Research School of Pacific Studies, at the Australian National University, in an address to the Sydney Institute on 26 May 1994, in Sydney entitled *"Myths and Realities in our Approach to Indonesia"*, noted the following:

> *"an abandoned Portuguese colony, situated within the Indonesian archipelago, in a state of civil war. The assertion that Portugal is the Administering Power in East*

Timor is, except in the most arcane legalistic sense, fatuous since Portugal abandoned its neglected colony seventeen years ago".

(c) Thomas Michel, Secretary for the Office for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs of the Holy See in a speech on *"East Timor: The Case of Integration"* delivered before the Federation of Asian Bishop's Conference, spoke at length on the onslaught of the civil war in East Timor :

"The night of 27 August, ... the whole colonial government, together with virtually all Portuguese, mixed blood Timorese and Chinese who could find a boat, fled to the nearby island of Atuaro, then to Australia and Portugal. The number of refugees quickly reached 50,000".

(d) Mr. Edward Masters the former US Ambassador to Indonesia, in an article in the Asian Wall Street Journal of 22 August 1995, observed :

"Criticism from Portugal is particularly galling. Indonesia made East Timor a province in 1976 after the Portuguese Government abandoned its island colony in the midst of a communist-led civil war. In December 1975, following requests from non-communist elements in East Timor Indonesian troops moved in to protect vital security interests on Indonesia's periphery and to stem the flood of refugees in the Indonesian territory. While many people were killed in civil war and guerilla clashes starting in the mid-1970 s, more still died because of economic dislocation and drought that began in the final years of Portuguese rule. The colonial power, now badgering Indonesia and contributing to the international furor over East Timor, bears a significant share for the island's poverty and present difficulties".

(e) Prof. Bilveer Singh of the Singapore Institute of International Affairs published a study on East Timor entitled *"East Timor - Indonesia and the world - myths and realities"* in 1996 (revised edition) and wrote :

"While the British were the last colonial power to leave the region when it handed ....sovereignty to Brunei...in 1984, the Portuguese in turn, entered the annals of Southeast Asian decolonization history as the Power that simply failed to carry out

transfer of power in an orderly fashion....it was forced to abandon its colonial possession literally in retreat and dishonor. It was the unfolding of this tragic event, more than anything else that was to launch what has now come to be known as the Timor Problem. It is the contention of this writer that it was in the failure and neglect of the successive Portuguese Governments to prepare the Timorese people for self-determination and the manner in which Lisbon abandoned its colonial possession that the roots of the present Timor Problem can be found....As far as the international political dynamics of what East Timor is today Portugal must go down in history as one of the most irresponsible colonial Powers as it abrogated and failed in its obligations to the people of Portuguese Timor whom it colonized for nearly 450 years. This is all the more important in view of the hypocrisy with which Lisbon has continued to maintain its status as the sole legal political guardian of East Timor...".

4. After Portugal's abject failure to carry out its obligations as the Administering Authority and in the face of the mounting terror of one minority group against the people of East Timor, the representatives of the majority population in the territory considered themselves no longer bound to the colonial power and proclaimed on 30 November 1975 the independence of East Timor through integration with the Republic of Indonesia. The exercise of the right to self determination was carried out in accordance with United Nations General Assembly Resolutions 1514 (XV), principles VI, VIII and IX of 1541 (XV) and 2625 (XXV) and in line with the traditional democratic practices of the East Timorese. In this context, it is important to focus attention on the fact that the decolonization process was conducted in the territory according to a system, similar to the plan originally conceived by the Portuguese colonial authorities, i.e. Constitutional Law number 7/75. Therefore, by its own actions, Portugal has forfeited the right to be still considered the Administering Power. Further, it is inconceivable to consider giving Portugal another chance to undertake the decolonization process that it utterly mishandled twenty-two years ago.

5. It is reprehensible for Portugal to base the contents of its note verbale on biased, unreliable and uncorroborated sources of information. Furthermore, it has utilized the provisions of Article 73 (e) to indulge in making blatant misrepresentations and slanderous allegations against Indonesia and on the prevailing situation in East Timor. The Permanent Mission of Indonesia is therefore compelled to make the following clarifications:

(a) Indonesia has rejected the resolution adopted by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights at its 53rd meeting, held on 16 April 1997. This resolution was not passed by acclamation but through voting in which 20 were in favor, 14 against and 18 abstained while still another member did not participate. It is clear from the results of the vote that there was polarization among the 53 members of the Commission. Also the resolution was replete with misrepresentations, concerning the facts as well as the current situation in East Timor. The allegations in the resolution have no basis whatsoever and many issues have been grossly exaggerated. In matters of human rights, although all countries should strive towards a perfect state devoid of any violations, in reality no country can claim to have a picture-perfect record. Further, the resolution is so politically charged and biased that it did not even reflect the progress already achieved in improving human rights conditions in the province in all its aspects, including civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights. During the past three years, 1994, 1995 and 1996, Chairman's consensus statements were adopted on this issue. However, since Portugal and its supporters have consistently shown the tendency to manipulate the contents of the Chairman's Statements, accusing Indonesia unfoundedly of non-compliance of these Statements, Indonesia refused to accept a Chairman's Statement once again which was completely one-sided and highly intrusive.

(b) Reports of the UN Human Rights mechanisms can not be accepted in their entirety as credible and reliable as not all of them are premised on objectivity and impartiality and Indonesia has expressed regret and disappointment at these unbalanced reports. In this regard, the report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances contained in document E/CN.4/1997/34 can hardly be termed as objective and reliable when it is replete with discrepancies and fails to reflect pertinent realities. In particular, the report alleges an increase in the number of disappearance cases in East Timor in 1996 but does not substantiate its findings with any concrete factual evidence.

(c) It is also the firm view of Indonesia that the implementation of any technical cooperation is clearly the prerogative of a sovereign nation. In this regard, it should be noted that technical cooperation and advisory services accorded by the UNHCHR/Center for Human Rights are at the complete discretion of the concerned States. During the last visit of the High Commissioner on Human Rights, Mr. José Ayala Lasso, to Indonesia on 2-7 December 1995, several agreements in principle were reached between the UNHCHR

and Indonesia, with a view to enhancing technical cooperation in the field of human rights. Both parties agreed, *inter alia*, to upgrade the "Memorandum of Intent on Technical Cooperation" to "Memorandum of Understanding". However, it deserves clarification that the Memorandum of Intent only covered technical cooperation and not the establishment of a human rights office in Jakarta.

(d) The Government of Indonesia remains committed to cooperating with all UN human rights mechanisms and will duly consider the possibility of inviting the Commission's mechanisms at a time deemed appropriate.

(e) The individual rights of the East Timorese people have been further enhanced with the opening of a branch office of the National Commission on Human Rights, in Dili on 26 June 1996, to monitor the human rights situation in the province as well as to promote the human rights of the East Timorese. Further, the Dili office has also served as an additional channel for East Timorese aspirations aside from the Catholic Church and the ICRC. In this context, it should be noted that the National Commission on Human Rights has been praised by the international community for maintaining its objectivity and impartiality when assessing various incidents of human rights violations. Since its inception in Dili, the branch has received complaints of more than 100 people over their plight as former members of TROPAS, the colonial Portuguese army.

(f) Contrary to the accusations of Portugal, Indonesia has undertaken every effort to find the missing persons of the Dili incident,totalling 54, in keeping with its commitment to the Chairman's Statement of the Commission on Human Rights of 1992. In this regard, it has been learnt that some of these individuals may have fled to Australia in May 1996, while other East Timorese youth had forcefully gained entrance to foreign embassies in Jakarta and have since emigrated to Lisbon. Some activists living overseas have even claimed to be veterans of the Dili incident and it is expected that more and more individuals will fall into this category. In view of these facts, it is futile to continue the search for missing persons.

(g) As far as Indonesia is concerned, the reports of Amnesty International and certain NGOs have been consistently based on pre-conceived notions and pre-determined views, reflecting its intense bias against Indonesia. It is in this context that Indonesia has never

granted permission to organizations like Amnesty International to visit the province as such negative campaigns do not serve to advance the cause of the East Timorese people.

(h) Portugal's attempts of portraying a "grave" and "serious" situation in East Timor are a complete fabrication. Allegations of torture, disappearances, detentions and killings are contrary to the prevailing realities in the province. It is simply a desperate and futile attempt on the Portuguese side to assuage its guilt at its own dismal colonial record in the territory. Neither have such allegations been substantiated with concrete evidence. The Indonesian Government fully accords due process of law to every citizen, including the East Timorese people. Whenever individuals are detained for questioning against whom there are no grounds for prosecution, they are promptly released. Likewise, those who are convicted are treated in full conformity with national laws and universally recognized norms. As in any law abiding society, the local law-enforcement officials are charged with upholding national criminal laws and the constitutional rights of Indonesian citizens during questioning, detaining or making arrests. Therefore to blatantly level accusations, based on unnamed and uncorroborated sources, that detainees were mistreated and tortured, are unwarranted.

(i) In East Timor, it is known that some youths, manipulated by outside sources, are responsible for disrupting law and order, by staging riots, demonstrations and threatening the safety of the local people. It is hoped that younger generations attending elementary school to higher education centres will learn of the cruelties and atrocities of the Portuguese colonial power during its 450 years of occupation, to understand the true reasons of their forefathers in choosing integration with Indonesia. Only in this way will young East Timorese fulfil their true potential in the development of the province.

(j) It is regrettable that what started out as a welcoming ceremony for the 1996 Nobel Laureate, Bishop Belo, turned into a violent demonstration, causing the tragic death of one off-duty soldier and injuries to 11 bystanders. The ultimate aim of such behavior is the imposition of political objectives of a few on the people of East Timor. It should be noted that the state police vested with the authority to handle demonstrations exercised a high degree of self-restraint and took care not to be provoked by the culprits - the kind of reaction that is expected by these instigators whose intention is to create trouble and besmirch the good name of Indonesia. The Bishop of Dili condemned the incident and

expressed deep regret to the family of the victim. A member of the National Commission of Human Rights who is also an East Timorese native described the brutal killing as a glaring violation of human rights. Under these circumstances, it is preposterous for Portugal, based on the report of Amnesty International, to accuse the Indonesian authorities of "mistreating" these "perpetrators" in order to pressure them for confessions.

(k) The accusation that military personnel were involved in the death of a civilian on 25 April 1997 is a complete falsehood. What occurred was that local youth, instigated by anti-integration elements, went on a rampage, burning two vehicles that belonged to the Chairman and Secretary of the Golkar party in Baucau and caused the death of an East Timorese victim, identified as Alfino, the younger brother of a member of the Baucau district military command. Those responsible for this criminal act were handed over to the police by Baucau's parish priest after they had sought asylum in the church.

(l). In recent months, East Timorese youth have scaled the fences of foreign embassies in Jakarta even though they have never been persecuted or under the threat of persecution. Rather they are the victims of lack of opportunities in the employment market or have been manipulated by outside elements. On humanitarian consideration, the Government of Indonesia has always granted permission for these youths to leave for Portugal if they so wished. It is therefore regrettable that once they arrive in Portugal, they are subjected to deplorable living conditions with no jobs or future in sight. This was a point that Mr. Manuel Joaquim Rodriguez Macedo, Chairman of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association (PIFA), alluded to journalists at a press conference in Indonesia in April 1997 that the East Timorese had their dreams to a better life in Portugal dashed. For each youth receives US $ 120.00 in monthly welfare payments from the Portuguese Government for a period of only six months which they use to learn Portuguese. Then the government stops welfare payments as unemployment is already high in Portugal. Also the youths are accommodated in shabby dormitories, with between 10 and 12 people sharing a 12-square-meter room. These worsening conditions have caused many East Timorese youth to appeal to the PIFA to facilitate their return back to Indonesia.

(m) The Government of Indonesia has given permission to the ICRC to facilitate the travel to Dili, East Timor, of two Portuguese citizens, namely, Elvira Lucellina Dos Santos and Priscilla Chivela Soares, to join their families in Dili, in May 1997. It has become well

known in the East Timorese community in Portugal that life in the former colony is not as wonderful as they had envisaged and many have expressed an interest in returning home to East Timor, to be reunited with their families.

(n) The Chairman of the PIFA has informed that he has planned to write a book revealing a number of interesting issues concerning Portugal's relationship with its former colony. This book is intended for East Timorese youths who are unaware of the atrocities committed by the occupying colonialist power before integration of East Timor with Indonesia and it will be translated into Indonesian, English and French languages.

(o) It has always been the practice of Indonesia's detractors abroad to manipulate and exploit every event taking place in East Timor, especially during visits of foreign dignitaries by instigating small groups of East Timorese to engage in unlawful acts, including violent demonstrations, in order to provoke reactions from the authorities and thereby attract international attention. One such demonstration took place at a hotel where the Personal Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General on the question of East Timor, Ambassador Jamsheed Marker, was staying on 23 March 1997 and the police exercised great restraint in handling the incident. Yet another one took place on 24 March 1997, when a few East Timorese staged a sit-in at the Austrian Embassy and demanded to meet with Ambassador Marker. It is fact that their actions were manipulated by outsiders as their documents were carefully worded in English. Furthermore, attempts to exploit the situation and besmirch the reputation of Indonesia by the circulation of misleading reports by Ramos Horta alleging that the said incident caused fatalities, were immediately denied by both Ambassador Marker and the ICRC.

(p) As to the remarks concerning alleged human rights abuses in East Timor by the US Congressman, Patrick Kennedy (Democrat-Rhode Island), it not only reflects a lack of knowledge of the current realities in the province but worse still, is a politically motivated comment. It is well known that such anti-Indonesia remarks by US Congressmen are made to gain popularity in their congressional districts which are dominated by large Portuguese communities.

(q) Regarding prisoners in East Timor, the ICRC has been given full authority to visit East Timorese prisoners in custody and to those serving their jail sentences, including

Xanana Gusmao at Cipinang prison in Jakarta. In addition, the ICRC representatives were also granted free access to people they wanted to meet both in East Timor and other parts of Indonesia. In this regard, the last four programmes of visits took place on 19-22 August 1996, 25 November-2 December 1996, 5-6 March 1997 and 1-3 April 1997. The ICRC continues to assist in improving the living conditions of the prisoners, including sanitation in prisons. Since 1979, it has played an important role in the repatriation and reunification of East Timorese from the province with their relatives in Portugal. It has also facilitated the departure and travel of East Timorese youths to Portugal after their bid for political asylum was denied by several embassies in Jakarta in the last two years. Indeed, in a rare situation, the ICRC office in Dili, East Timor, handed over a fugitive who sought refuge on the ICRC premises and was wanted by the police as one of the suspects in the brutal killing of an off-duty soldier during a welcoming ceremony for the Bishop of Dili Monsignor Belo, the 1996 Nobel Peace Laureate, on 24 December 1996. As one of the independent sources, the ICRC continues to work closely with the Indonesian authorities in clarifying inaccurate information regarding prisoners or victims of certain incidents.

(r) East Timor is open but such openness has often been abused by some visitors who land on the island with a priori perception and produce biased and unbalanced reports. Almost no single month has passed without some programme of visits as shown by the following visitors to the province over the past year : Dr. Abilio Araujo and Prof. Dr. Antonio, members of Portuguese Academician Group, 6-8 August 1996; Cardinal Edward Clancy, the head of the Catholic Church in Australia, 9-18 August 1996; Mr. L.B. Labuschange, Senior Officer of the South African Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 15-17 August 1996; Mr. Grover Rees and Mr. Robert Hathaway, US House of Representatives, International Relations Committee, 11-13 October 1996; Ambassador Sally Shelton, USAID Headquarters Office in Washington, 24-25 October 1996; Dr. Thomas Glaser, Deputy Director of the Federal Foreign Ministry of Germany, 25-27 November 1996; Prof. Dr. Luis Felipe Thomas, Portuguese historian, 14-18 December 1996; A Brazilian Parliamentary Delegation, led by Deputy Aracely de Paula and Senator Antonio Carlos Valdares, Deputy Pedro Valdares, Deputy Feu and Mr. Wellington Franco de Oliveira as members, 16-17 December 1996; Mrs. Judith Sefi Attah, Minister for Women's Role and Social Welfare of Nigeria, Chairman of the Forty-Sixth Session of the Sub Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, 17-18 December 1996; Mr. Patrick Kennedy, US Congressman (Democrat-Rhode Island), 23-24 December 1996; Mr.

Frank R. Wolf, US Congressman (Republican - Virginia) with two members of his staff, Mr. Charles White and Mr. William Gray, 12-14 January 1997; Mr. John Shattuck, US Assistant Secretary of the State Department on 21 March 1997; Ambassador Jamsheed Marker, Personal Representative of the UN Secretary-General on the Question of East Timor on 22-24 March 1997; Ambassadors and representatives of various embassies and international organizations and foreign based corespondents from July 1996 to June 1997.

(s) In March 1997, Mr. John Shattuck, the US State Department Assistant Secretary for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, visited Indonesia, including East Timor, and expressed hope for reaching a solution to East Timor. This was one of his many visits to Indonesia.

(t) The United Nations Secretary-General appointed Ambassador Jamsheed Marker as his Personal Representative on the Question of East Timor in February 1997. In this context, Ambassador Marker, in preparation for the ninth round of the tripartite dialogue, visited Indonesia, including East Timor, on 20-31 March 1997 to gather first-hand information concerning the province and also witnessed the results of development in Manatuto, Aileu, Liquisa and Ermera districts. During his visit, the Personal Representative of the UNSG met with high-ranking dignitaries in Jakarta as well as officials of the provincial government of East Timor. Further, he expressed appreciation to the Indonesian Government for its cooperation and the results of his observations have been reported to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

(u) The Indonesian Government is committed to promoting and protecting the fundamental rights of the East Timorese people, including the right to adequate food, jobs, health and education, all of which that they have been deprived for over 450 years. In this regard, the implementation of vigorous programmes have resulted in an annual economic growth of 10 percent, much higher than other Indonesian provinces. Housing, hospitals and schools have continued to increase, raising the living standards of the East Timorese people. Despite these great strides in development, unemployment remains a problem in the province and is being addressed by the implementation of more vocational programmes and training, including for the civil service sectors. In this regard, it is pertinent to note that 283 former members of TROPAS (Portuguese colonial army) out of a total listed number of 712 have been accorded the status of full provincial civil servants

after having satisfactorily fulfilled the administrative requirements.

(v) To serve the interest of an increasing number of Catholics in the province, Pope John Paul II ordained Basilio do Nasscimento as the Bishop of Baucau in February 1997 at the Vatican. In this regard, it is pertinent to note that the Bishop of the Baucau Diocese will serve the regencies of Manatuto, Viequeque and Lautem. Also noteworthy to mention is the inauguration of the 27-meter statute of Christ in Dili, on 24 November 1997, reflecting the Central Government's efforts to promote and enhance the Catholic religion in the province.

6. Information contained in the note verbale concerning transmigration is a distortion of fact. Though the policy of transmigration is applicable to some parts of Indonesia in order that people from the densely populated areas like the island of Java can relocate to sparsely populated islands like Sumatra, Sulaweisi and Kalimantan, it is not implemented in East Timor. There is however a policy whereby in order to expedite the development in the province, skilled workers mostly of the Catholic faith are encouraged to relocate to East Timor for the duration of the projects to assist the East Timorese people with various areas of development such as agriculture, sanitation and fisheries.

7. The role of the Armed Forces in East Timor is primarily to assist the people with the development of the province and also to protect them from security disturbance perpetrators. And, contrary to the perpetuation of the myth by Portugal, the Armed Forces in East Timor have been disbanded and there are only five battalions, four of which are charged with conducting civic missions and one battalion for securing peace and security. Currently, the military has been greatly involved with the important development efforts in the province to raise the standard of living of the local population. The military along with the Roman Catholic Church and the provincial government are the three pillars of development in East Timor. Furthermore, in an effort to promote closer cooperation and understanding with the local population, senior military officers will attend an annual six-week seminar conducted by the Center for Defence Studies of Kings College, London University, to be held in Jakarta, covering a wide range of security studies, human rights and international law. The human rights course will cover various aspects of human rights which are also included in existing studies of the Indonesian Pancasila, emphasizing unity in diversity.

8. On the question of the Nobel Peace Prize awarded to Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo and José Ramos Horta on 10 October 1997, Indonesia's position is clear. In this regard, Indonesia has always shared Bishop Belo's determination to enhance the welfare and well-being of the people of East Timor and to ensure that they live in peace and in an atmosphere of religious freedom and tolerance. The growth in the number of adherents of the Catholic religion and the other religions in East Timor as well as the dramatic increase in the number of churches attest to this fact. But Indonesia was astounded by the award given to Ramos Horta. What Indonesia finds difficult to understand is the choice of Ramos Horta as a recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize alongside Bishop Belo. Ramos Horta was a key leader of the Fretilin, a radical and violent group responsible for unspeakable atrocities perpetrated on a massive scale against fellow East Timorese when they briefly took control of East Timor by force in mid-1975. Bishop Belo himself condemned the brutality of the brief rule by the Fretilin. As a key member of the Central Committee of the Fretilin at the time of the atrocities, José Ramos Horta has yet to account for his complicity and responsibility in that bloodbath. Thousands of widows and orphans of the victims of the Fretilin massacre are still alive today and are easily accessible for testimony. It is perhaps the greatest irony that this person whose hands are stained with the blood of the victims of Fretilin's reign of terror should be the recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize. It is no wonder therefore that this claim to being a spokesman for the people of East Timor has been overwhelmingly rejected by the East Timorese people. The Nobel Prize Committee has also mistakenly cited José Ramos Horta for making significant contribution through "reconciliation talks and by working out a peace plan for the region". In fact José Ramos Horta would have nothing to do with the ongoing All-Inclusive East Timorese Dialogue when the idea was being developed but he was finally persuaded to participate, perhaps because he thought that he could inflict more damage to the process by joining it. His behavior during the deliberations of the Dialogue has been disruptive and served mainly to sow confusion and raise tension. The Nobel Peace Prize may have been awarded to Ramos Horta, a man whose career has been devoted to subverting peace, but there is nothing that he can do with the Prize that will erase the dismal record of his past misdeeds. It had been announced that the award was for their "sacrifices for the oppressed people of East Timor". Nothing could be farther from the truth. On the contrary, the highest priority has been accorded to the economic and social welfare of the people. The record shows that it was only when East Timor integrated with Indonesia that the East Timorese enjoy universal suffrage, adequate political

representation in decision-making centers of government, and real opportunities for socio-economic upliftment so that they could break away from the stagnation that had been the result of centuries of exploitation by the former colonial power. In fact, during the last meeting of the UN-facilitated All Inclusive Intra-East Timorese Dialogue in Burg Schlaining, Austria, on 22 March 1996, East Timorese representing all shades of opinion, including Ramos Horta, stated that they were "encouraged by the substantial role of the East Timorese in the administration and development of East Timor". The Nobel Prize Committee also stated that Bishop Belo has "tried to create a just settlement based on the people's right to self-determination". It is pertinent to note that Bishop Belo himself has also supported endeavors at reconciliation among the East Timorese, a process that Indonesia wholeheartedly supported, encouraged and promoted.

9. The ASEAN nations have jointly accused Portugal of hampering relations with the European Union. In this regard, it is pertinent to recall that the Heads of Government of ASEAN, in a press statement of 30 November 1996 at their first Informal Meeting held in Jakarta, observed "with increasing concern the efforts of one member country of the EU to introduce extraneous issues, such as the question of East Timor in the economic cooperation and interaction between ASEAN and the EU and the introduction of such an extraneous issue would only lead to unwarranted aggravation in ASEAN-EU relations, while at the same time jeopardizing the tripartite process on East Timor presently taking place under the auspices of the Secretary-General". Yet Portugal failed to achieve its political purposes but has become an irritant to the ASEAN-EU relationship. For example, when ASEAN and the EU were on the point of renewing an agreement for cooperation which had lasted for 10 years from 1980-1990, to the common benefit of both sides, Portugal prevented the conclusion of the agreement in order to promote its political agenda on East Timor.

10. In the Final Communiqué of the twenty-fourth session of the Islamic Conference of the Foreign Ministers, the Organization of Islamic Countries expressed "its full support for Indonesia in the efforts to find a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution" on the question of East Timor.

11. The eighth round of talks were held in Geneva on 27 June 1996 between the respective Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of the

Secretary-General. These discussions focussed, inter alia, on substantive issues related to an eventual framework for the achievement of a just comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor, the proposals of the All-Inclusive Intra-East Timorese Dialogue (AIETD) held from 19-22 March 1996, concerning the establishment of an East Timorese cultural center in Dili and the development of human resources in East Timor. The ninth round of talks to be held on 21 December 1996 was cancelled due to lack of preparation. This occurred as a result of Portugal's procrastination to hold preparatory talks at the Permanent Representative level in New York for the above-mentioned tripartite dialogue. It should be noted the ninth tripartite dialogue will be convened under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan in New York, on 19-20 June 1997.

12. The Burg Schlaining Declaration of 1996, inter alia, expressed the desire of the participants of the All-Inclusive Intra East Timorese Dialogue for the establishment of an East Timorese Cultural Center in Dili with the aim of undertaking research on the culture, customs, language, customs and traditions of the East Timorese. In this regard, the Indonesian Government continues to exert every effort to develop and protect the East Timorese culture and identity which had disappeared after 450 years of Portuguese colonial rule. For this purpose, Indonesia has allocated Rp 113.24 billion, reflecting an increase of 94 percent from the fiscal year 1996/96. The Portuguese side has yet to implement any part of the AIETD agreement and its ambivalent attitude demonstrates its lack of sincerity in seeking a solution to the question of East Timor.

13. It is to be reiterated that the innovative idea of opening an interest section in Jakarta and Lisbon was initially suggested by the then United Nations Secretary-General in the tripartite dialogue on 17 December 1992. It was believed that it could contribute to confidence-building measures between the two countries. Also important to note was that Indonesia responded positively but Portugal rejected it. After five years, it is fruitful that Portugal is finally considering the proposal but Indonesia is of the view that the establishment of an interest section cannot be linked to extraneous conditions, such as release of prisoners in Indonesia. Neither would it be conducive for the Foreign Minister of Portugal to visit Indonesia to meet with East Timorese prisoners convicted in a court of law for committing unlawful acts.

14. Throughout the process of the tripartite dialogue, Indonesia has demonstrated its sincerity, not only by words but deeds, to cooperate with the United Nations Secretary-General and Portugal, to reach a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement to the question of East Timor. For this however more than rhetorical representations are needed from Portugal. It cannot on the one hand laud efforts to have a constructive exchange in the tripartite talks and on the other hand continue to indulge in repetitious and slanderous accusations against Indonesia. Indeed, the efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General cannot be helped by a two-faced approach. Indonesia hopes that the next round of talks will be constructive and useful. Towards this end, Indonesia is prepared to cooperate but there must be unequivocal assurance from Portugal that it too remains committed to this process of dialogue.

15. In view of the foregoing, the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia takes the view that the so-called report of Portugal contained in the aforementioned note verbale dated 19 May 1997 has no validity whatsoever.

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations has the honor to request that this note verbale and its annexes be circulated as an official document of the United Nations General Assembly.